

*W. Herbert.*

**A COM-  
PENDIOUS AND A**

**VERY FRVTEFVL TREA-**

**tyse teachynge the waye of**

**Dyenge well, witten to a**

**frende, by the flowze of**

**lerved men of his**

**tyme, Thomas**

**Lupsete**

**Lon-**

**doner, late deceased on**

**whose soule Jesu,**

**haue mercy**



1541  
5

*8<sup>a</sup> L. 558. B. 5.*

*A. p. 172.*

W. H. L. 1844

THE COMMISSIONERS

OF THE LAND OFFICE

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION

PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN THE YEAR 1844

TO INQUIRE INTO THE

STATE OF THE LANDS

IN THE DISTRICT OF

THE COUNTY OF

THE DISTRICT OF

THE DISTRICT OF

THE DISTRICT OF

THE DISTRICT OF



To dye vvell.

2



Hey say, it is a point of  
a proude vanitie, or a  
stubburne foly, to kepe  
sure and certaine, what  
sometier is ones sayde,  
always, it semeth not to wise men,  
that a promys shulde be stucked by,  
in as moche there maye chaunce  
greater causes to bzeke a promys,  
then the reasons be, why promise  
shulde be performed. As if I haue  
sayd, that I wyl suppe with you:  
hit is not inoughe to bynde me a-  
gaynste all chaunces. I may fall  
sycke, I maye haue at home some  
necessary impediment, the wether  
may so fal, that it is no going out,  
many casualties may happen, that  
were not in mynde, whan such pro-  
myse was made. Wherefore wyle  
men say, in all makynge of promys,  
there be euer vnderstonde some se-

A. li.

crete

To dye vvell.

crete exceptions, suche as be these:  
If I can, If I maye, If it be con-  
uenient, If no greater cause hap-  
pen to let me. By the whiche excep-  
tions, a promes neuer byndethe a  
man ferther, than is accoꝝdyng to  
be obserued and kepte.

**I**f I thought (my frende Iohn  
Walker) that you wold take myne  
excuse by the sayde exceptions, I  
wold rather by them escape my pro-  
messe, that I haue made to you,  
than I wold fulfyl it. For whan I  
sodenlye agreed to your requeste,  
that was to haue me wyte to you  
the waye of dyenge well: I consi-  
derid not at that tyme, what the  
thyng was. After I percei-  
ued moze difficultie in it, than was  
mete for my poore witte (speciallye  
beyng (as you maye see me) other  
wyle occupied, in suche studies as  
apperteyne



To dye vvell.

3

appertayne to my leasure: and of shortly this lesson to lerne the way of dyenge well, hath nede to haue a mapster, the whiche knowethe both what our life is, and what the losse of the same is. For no man in my minde can effectuously teche the way to dye well, excepte he be one that knoweth the way to lyue well. And plainely the mater requirereth a philosophers stomake and a sadde. For suche a one as Marcus Cato was, were a man mete to entrete this thyng: he knewe what valure lay in deathe, the whiche he fought bothe with swerde, and his nayles, tearing out his owne bowelles.

I wolde thinke a Catulus or a Hercula shoulde speake lustely to you of deathe, seeinge they sawed theyr couragious harte nothinge

to

To dye vvell.

to esteeme lyfe, when the time requi-  
red, eyther to dye with honour, or  
to lyue with shame. These men  
and suche other wolde shewe you  
the waye to go to deathe, longe be-  
foze death came to you. But none  
of all the paynymes canne eyther  
with woꝝde or with ensamples of  
theyꝝ actes declare this thyng so  
crewly and effectually, as maye he  
that is exercised in Chyestes philo-  
sophye, a Paule, or a Peter, or a  
Hierom Shulde here in speke moze  
lyuely: than al þe subtyl clerkes of  
the olde grekes. Yet to me, foꝝ my  
parte, it is an harde thyng, eyther  
to play with you one of this soꝝte,  
or of that soꝝte. It passeth my po-  
wer to speake to you eyther lyke  
Socrates, or lyke Chrysostome.  
So that if the sayde exceptions be  
with you admitted in a promys mis-  
kyng



To dye vvell.

4

kyng, I maye trewely denye you  
the perfoꝛmaunce of my graun-  
tinge, in as moche when I promi-  
sed you this thyng, there was vn-  
derstanded, if I coulde, & if it were  
conuenient: I nother can well de-  
clare this waye of dyenge, noꝛ yet  
the thyng, it is not conuenient for  
me, lpyng in this common course  
of the worldely folke, to speake of  
deth so earnestly, as a monke of the  
Charter house shoulde and myght  
do. But bycause I knowe your  
importune desyre, to be so set vpon  
this thyng, I nedes you wyl haue  
me saye somewhat herein: I wyl  
praye you so to rede me, as the tale  
not onely to be wyrtten of me for  
you, but that I my selfe am also  
an auditoꝛ of the same, and as mo-  
che shall I enforce to folowe the  
counsaile, that in my sayenge I

A.iiii.

ad-

To dye vuell.

aduyse you, as though the holo  
worke pertayned onely to my selfe.  
Wherin take this note for your  
comfortes, that I write nothyng  
to you, that I wythe not were in  
my owne power to execute. Thus  
I with you, and you with me both  
of vs fast yoked to gethers, let vs  
endeuour our selves to be in dede  
suche men as we commende and  
praple. For as it is shame to speke  
one thinge and to thinke an other,  
so it is a moze shame to write holy-  
ly and to lyue worldelye. And as  
great a rebuke there is in him that  
can here and praple good sayinges  
but doo there after he wpll not.  
Now than let vs not speke only of  
the way to dye well, but in effecte  
let vs indeuer our myndes to haue  
the frute of this lesson, to make in  
dede a good ende of our lyfe. And  
here



To dye vvell.

here nowe withoute anye farther  
proces I wyll begynne to pay you  
my dette, and shoulde you shall  
knowe my mynde howe you maye  
dye well.

**A**s I was betwixt, pynke me, to  
wryte some thyng of this mater to  
the satisfyinge of your desyre, I  
torned a booke, where my memoire  
gaue me, to be a story of one called  
Canius, that lyued vnder the ty-  
rante Caligula Cesar. This Ca-  
nius beside his hys lernyng was a  
man of a great spirite, the whiche  
he wel declared in the maner of ta-  
kyng his deth. It chanced hym to  
falle out for a certayne cause with  
the sayde tyrante, and many sore  
wordes were betwene them: at the  
laste whan the tyme was depar-  
tyng from the tother, this empe-  
rour in his fieris ire sayde: well  
thou

To dye vuell.

thou sole, make mery if thou wyle.  
fo: I haue popnted the within few  
dayes to be slayne. Therat Cant-  
us turned him with lowe courtesy  
and sayd: My most gentyll pzince  
I hartely thanke you.

**T**his answere came from a no-  
ble stomacke, whereby he shewed  
the mad ragis of the cruell tyrant  
to be so ferre intollerable, that vnder  
hym dethe was to be reckened  
fo: a benefit and a good tourne:  
wherfoze he thanked hym fo: his  
offer, as fo: a specyall rewarde.  
And great merueil men had to be-  
hold this Philosopher, howe me-  
ry he was after this tyrantes thre-  
tenynge. There were .x. dayes gy-  
uen of respite, befoze he shuld dye  
the whiche tyme he so passed, that  
he neuer semed to be in lesse care,  
no: to haue his mynde in better  
qui-



quietnes.

**C** When the daye came of execution, the kinges geyle & hangmanne wente abowte the towne with a greatte compaigne of them that shoulde suffer death, the whiche passing by this Canius house, they called hym to be broughte also forth amongst the other, at the whiche tyme Canius was playinge atte the chestes with one of his companions, and hearinge theym make haaste, he rose and telled his men, sayinge to his companion: Loke nowe that after my deathe you lpe not, no; make no false cokes, that you haue wonne this game. There with also he bekenid to the gailes and sayde: I pray you bere witnes, that I haue one man in this game more than my felowe hath.

**C**In

To dye vvell.

**I**n this wyse this philosopher  
playde with deathe, and shortly  
by his quiete harte gaue a foule  
checker mate to the tyrantes cruel-  
tie: he shewed hym selfe to be in  
spirite as farre aboue all kynges  
violente power, as these myghtye  
princes thynke to haue a stronge  
dominion ouer all theyr subiectes.  
The frendis and familiars of this  
philosopher were very sorowfull,  
bewaylynge the losse of suche a  
man. to whome: what meane you  
quod he: why be you sadde?  
why moune you for me? Is hit  
not your study to knowe, whether  
the soule of man be mortall or im-  
mortalle? The answere of this  
harde question I now shall lerne:  
and now shall I see the trouthe  
of all our doubtes of heuen and  
of god.

**T**hus



To dye well.

7

**T**hus talkynge with his frendes he came to the place of execution, and there a lyttell, whylest other were hedded, he stode styll in a musynge dumpte. What thinke you now good Canius, quod one of his frendes: wherupon nowe muse you so earnestly: Mary (quod he) I haue determynedde with my selfe to marke well, whether in this short pange of death my soule shal perceyue and feele, that he goeth oute of my body. This poynte I fully entende to take hede of: and if I can, I wyll surely bringe you and the reste of my felowes word, what I felte, and what is the state of our soules.

**T**here was a wonderfull caulme stowme in þe myddell of so stormy a tempest. this mans mynde was worthe of an ever lastynge lyfe.  
that

To dye well.

that was not onely to the deathe  
studious of knowlege, but also in  
the selfe death founde occasion of  
lernynge. It was not possyble  
for any mannes mynde to conty-  
nue his studie longer, or to a fer-  
ther poynte than this noble philo-  
sopher dyd.

**T**his story and certayne other  
lyke, maken me often to reason  
with my selfe, what a strength of  
knowlege is in mannes brayne, to  
ferche and to fynde by hym selfe  
the truthe, if he enforce his wittes  
to lerne. For this Canius & many  
other were not taught of Chyffe,  
as we now be, they had not the ru-  
les of fapthe, the whyche shewe  
the vnderstande waye to come  
to the perfect knowlege of all  
pryncipalities, they were not com-  
forted with the preaching of god-  
des



Des sonne to sette lyttell by this life  
as we now be. They were not  
plucked to conceyue a loue of ver-  
tue aboue nature: as the holy scrip-  
ture draweth vs from this worlde  
to the beholding of an other place,  
where vertu receiueth her crowne.  
Wherfore to me hit is no smalle  
cause of maruelling, when I here  
suche ensamples of naturall men,  
that by them selfe coulde in suche  
a maner ryse aboue theyr nature,  
in settinge lyttell by that thyng,  
that naturallye euerie creature  
mooste abhorreth and feareth (for  
deathe is the thyng that in this  
worlde by nature is made mooste  
doubtfull, mooste terrible, most hey-  
rous, and most worthy to be feared,  
to be eschewed, and by all meanes,  
ways, gyues, or craft to be esca-  
ped) To here then a naturall man,  
with

To dye well.

without the techyng of god, to rise  
vp in his phantasie aboue nature,  
to iudge of death farre other wyse  
than nature teacheth hym, to dis-  
pise the durance in this life, when  
he knoweth no certayntie of none  
other worlde, to vse the strength &  
myght of the spirite agcynste the  
puissant power of all tyrantes: It  
semeth to me a wonderfull thyng,  
& moze wonderfull the same shulde  
be, if I sawe not wyitten in holy  
scrypture, howe that frome the  
fyrste creation of Adam, the good-  
nes of god hath ben so greatte to-  
warde mankynde, that he hath  
gyuen vs alway sufficiente grace  
to knowe the ryghte, to se the hye  
maiestie of vertue, to fynd out the  
trewe dignite of the soule, to per-  
ceyue the vanyte of this presente  
lyfe, and fynally to vnderstande  
where



To dye vuell.

9

wherin stonde the pleasure of  
god, and wherein standeth his dis-  
pleasure. Euer by goddes mere  
goodnes man knewe what was  
wel to be done, and what was con-  
trarye puelle to be done. It is a  
lawe wrytten in the harte of man  
with the fynger of god in our cre-  
ation, to be enduced by reason to  
praysse alway vertue, and to thinke  
synne worthy of dyspraysse. The  
mynde of man hath a grace to see  
farther than the bodye syghte can  
attayne to, the mynde of man fe-  
leth moze subtyllye than our fyue  
wyttes can apzoche to, the losse of  
bloudde oz of bzyeth is a smalle try-  
fell in the myndes consideration,  
when the mynde vsethe his owne  
clere syghte, and is not blynded  
with the darthenesse of the bodye.  
The whiche stonblethe atts enuoye

B

strawe

To dye vvell.

A worldy  
man.

Strawe in this world. Every mote  
choketh a worldy man. Every li-  
tel sownde maketh a worldely man  
trimble and shake. I call a world-  
ly man him that giueth al his care  
to vse his wittes in this world,  
that creapeth vpon suche thynges  
as be sene, harde, felte, tasted, and  
smelte, that clymeth not in no con-  
sideration aboue the myste of this  
valeye. The mooste parte of men  
euer haue bene of this weake sorte  
and yet styll the mooste parte of  
men is the same. This world e-  
uer hathe his multitude, that ho-  
noyeth, worshippeth, and magni-  
fieth nothyng besyde this shorte  
lyfe, and those thynges that per-  
tayne to this lyfe. Yet ageyn euer  
both there benne some and styll  
there be some, that playe the phi-  
losophers, the whyche studied  
to



to knowe the dygnities and woorthynesses of euey thyng, howe moche it shoulde be esteemed, valued, or regarded of vs, the whiche laboureth to pycke oute in euey thyng what is good and what is noughte. Men of this sorte be called spirituelle menne. For you muste knowe, that a taylor, a shoemaker, a carpenter, a boote man, withoute bothe learninge and orders, maye be spirituall, whenne a mayster of arte, a doctour of diuinitie, a deane, a bishop bothe with his cunnynge and dignities may be tempozall, seinge the trewe diffinition of a spiritual man is to be one, in whome the mynde and spicite cheselye ruleth. As for the tempozall man is he to whome this present tyme of this transitozpe lyfe hath moche

Spiritual  
men.

Tempo-  
rall men.

To dye vvell.

come. . Thus I saye spirituelle  
men haue euer sene the trouthe,  
to ponder and valure euery thyng  
in this worlde accordyngely. And  
as to the temporalle mynde no-  
thyng seemeth sweter than to lyue  
here, so the spiritual mynd fyndeth  
swetenes in deathe, by the whiche  
this lyfe endeth. For lyke as the  
prince of this worlde neuer agre-  
ethe with god, nor yet the bodye  
with the soule, nor the erthe with  
heuy: so he that studyeth for this  
tyme, hath clene contrary oppo-  
sitions to hym that foloweth the spi-  
rite. And as the temporalle man  
saythe, hit is a pleasante thyng  
to lyue here, and a bytter thyng  
it is to dye: so the spirituall man  
thynketh it a better tyme to finish  
the space of this lyfe, & much to be  
reuerend by the ryddance of the  
soule



fole from the heauye burden of  
this body.

**O**f these contrarie oppnyons  
you shall lesse maruayle, when we  
haue a lyttell considered the thyng  
it selfe. what shoulde be death, the  
whiche one parte of vs soo moche  
feareth, and an other sorte setteth  
so lyttell by the same: and so by a  
shorte processe you shall see, whe-  
ther the sayde Canpus be more  
worthy of prayse for his lyttell re-  
gardynge the deedly punyshment,  
than is Frances Philyppe, that  
within fewe yeres passed was put  
to execution with vs for treason,  
the whiche dyed so cowardelye, in  
so greatte panges of feare, that  
he seemed extracte from his wyttes  
scante for quaking and tymblyng  
that he coulde speke one word.  
The fewe wordes that he coulde

francis  
Philyp.

To dye vvell.

with moche stutternge sownde,  
were only in the declaration of his  
dispayre, noz nothynge was sene  
noz harde of hym, but weppynge,  
lamentynge, wrynngynge of his  
handes, with bannynge the houre  
and day of his byrthe, continual-  
ly sighinge, as though he his harte  
shulde haue burst for sorowe.

The difference of these affectes  
wyl hereafter be (I thynke) play-  
ner to you, whan we haue a lyttell  
moze spoken in this matter. For  
nowe good Iohn, I wyl crepe a  
lyttell nygher to your desyre, the  
whiche you haue, of lernynge the  
way to dye well.

To dye  
well.

¶ THIS DYENGE well is in  
effecte to dye gladly. For who so  
euer dyeth gladly, he departeth  
frome this lyfe in a sure hope to  
lyue ageyne, beyng no more  
of



of this worlde : but nother this hope of the lyfe to come, noꝛ this weyynes of the lyfe pꝛesente, can make in any man a glad harte to dye. Onles he be one that hath lyued well here. Foꝛ in deathe there can be no gladnes, excepte therbe a full truste of opteynyng the rewarde of vertue, partelye by the truste and fayth of a good mynde, partely by the mercye of god, that fulfilleth euer our insufficiency, yf we bring ought with vs woꝛthy of his fauour. Foꝛ goddes grace supplieth, where our power lackethe, if hit so be that our soules appere befoꝛe him in an apparell mete foꝛ his pꝛesence, the whiche apparelle requirith a perfecte faythe, and an earnest wyl of doing wel, al though we haue not alwaye done well. The mercye of god neuer fayleth

him

To dye vuell.

lym, that fully trusteth in it: But  
a full truste can not be withoute  
the strength of charite, the whiche  
euer burneth in the loue of doyng  
good: & faythe can not be perfect,  
onies there be good woꝝkes, & whi-  
che maye stir vp and quycken in  
vs faythe to take a beleue, that by  
Chyistes actes our final demerites  
may growe to be perfecte. Thus  
a cherefull harte, be set with fayth,  
hope, and charitie, taketh no pen-  
sifulnes in the remembraunce of  
deathe, but rather it reioysseth to  
remembre, that by deathe it shall  
passe to lyfe, neuer moze to dye.  
Wherfore to dye well euer, is to  
dye gladly, eyther to be ridde from  
the bondes of this prison, or to op-  
teyne the lybertie of heuen: both  
wayes commeth from a good lyfe  
lived: so that surely no man can  
dye



To dye vvell,

13

Dye well, that lyueth not well, for  
euer deth is a sorrowfull thyng to  
the yuell lyuer. bycause he hath  
nothyng to laye befoze the mercy  
of god, wherbypon he maye take  
hope and truste to be made woꝝ-  
thy of the sure lyfe, in the whiche  
deathe medleth not. Nowe than  
yf we can gether, what maye lette  
vs to be gladde of deathe, and  
what wyl byynge vs to a desire of  
dyenge gladlye, we shalle by the  
same pycke oute the waye to dye  
well. For in my mynde these.ii.be  
allwayes one, to dye well, and to  
dye gladly.

**T**he gladde desire of dyenge is  
letted chesely by two thynges: one  
by the feare of deathe, the tother  
by the loue of this lyfe. The towe  
of these foloweth the tother. For  
he that loueth this lyfe, feareth to

Two let-  
tes to dye  
gladly.

B. v.

Dye

To dye vvell.

Dye: and he that feareth to dye,  
loueth this lyfe. Yet we may speke  
of eche parte by him selfe, and first  
lette vs assaye the greatteste, the  
whiche is the feare of deathe: than  
nerte after we wyl come to the to-  
ther, the which is the loue of this  
lyfe. If these two blockes be ta-  
ken out of our stomakes, we shall  
fynde an easye and a playne waye  
to the ende of our purpose. For  
who someuer nother fereth to dye,  
nor loueth to tary in this lyfe, he  
is redye alwaye to dye gladdely.  
But to perfoyme my promys, lette  
me say somewhat of the sayde feare  
and loue.

**T**hyrste and chesely the feare of  
death takethe awaye all gladnesse  
of dyng, and therby after myne  
opinion, no man that dyeth  
can dye well: so that to lerne



the waye of dyenge well we muste  
lerne the way to dye without feare.  
And yet howe I shulde proue, that  
death is not to be feared, I canne  
not well telle, seyng the hole po-  
wer of nature sheweth, that of all  
thynges death is moost fearefull:  
and to reason agaynste nature, it  
were parauenture not soo harde  
as vayne. For what canne reason  
pzeuayle, if nature resiste? It is a  
thyng to farre aboue mans po-  
wer to stryue or to wraстelle with  
nature, her strengthe passeth the  
myghte of our wylle, what helpe  
someuer we take of reason or of  
auctoritie: nother counsaile nor  
commandement hath place, where  
nature dothe her vttermooste. It  
is none excuse to saye, that nature  
lothe death bycause they be lothe  
to leaue the commodities of this  
lyfe.

To dye vvell,

lyfe, or bycause they feare the thre-  
teninges of purgatorie and of hel,  
or elles bycause they thynke vpon  
the sore peynefull panges, the whi-  
che be in the tyme of deathe. Nay  
these thinges make not chesely the  
feare of dying, it may well be that  
of suche thynges the feare is in-  
creased and made more fulle, but  
there is a feare before and by-  
syde all these thynges, the whiche  
feare nature (I say) gyueth, as it  
is wel sene in yonge chyldren, that  
haue no remembraunce nother of  
this lyfe, nor of the deadely pan-  
ges, nor of heuen, purgatorie, or  
helle. When we in sport threten to  
caste them heedlyng out at some  
bye wyndowe, they quake, trem-  
ble, and waxe pale, shewyng playn  
and euident tokens of a naturall  
fearward deathe. And though



by lernynge, or by a curragious mynde. Somme fewe amongst vs, seme lyttell or nothyng to be mo- ued with dethe: yet the sample of these fewe can not take awaye the trouthe, that nature in all the reste woꝝketh. For howe many be there that onely to eschewe deathe suffre all wretchednes, all beggarie, all payne, in pyckynge by crommes of nouryshement, to abyde a while in this lyght: And the moze sham- fully, that men for the moſte parte feare to dye, the greater proſſe there is, that ſuche extreme poyntes of fere agaynſt all ſhame ſhuld not in ſo many daily appere, whan dethe appꝛocheth, onles by nature ſome iuſte feate were of the ſame. For as the exceſſe of feare cometh by weakenes of harte and lacke of courage, the which is woꝝthy rebu-

To dye well.

rebuked for shamefull cowardnes :  
so there is a meane measure of feare  
in death, that may be reckened ho-  
nest and iuste, bycause nature ma-  
keth it necessary.

Take you howe bothe olde and  
newe stories kepe in memory their  
names that appered to dye with-  
out feare : as who saye, it is to be  
wrytten for a wonder and lyke to  
a myracle, beinge a thyng besyde  
the course of nature, to here of a  
man that can in death ouer come  
the passion of feare, as we wonder  
to here of some that lyue withoute  
sustinance of meate or of drynke.  
Bycause I saye hit is a naturall  
thyng to feare death, we greatly  
maruaile of them that feare it not.  
The reason saythe, we shoulde not  
maruaile at that thyng, the which we  
cannot, & only yuel is wrytten  
be



be feared. But seynge we knowe not deathe, we may well by reason doubt, whether it be yuell or good. And nowe befoze we speake anye moze of feare, let vs a lyttell consyder deathe by it selfe, what thyng it is of his owne nature, and whether by it self it be good or yuell.

**W**e calle ones dethe the losyng a sonder and departyng of.ii. thynges, the soule from the bodye: the whiche departyng no man can escape, but necessarye dye all we muste that be bozne in this world. When the body by any violence loseth his sensis, and is spoiled from the quicke vse of his pyncipal partes, than departeth the soule from hym: and in maner the bodye lea- ueth the soule, befoze the soule lea- ueth the bodye. For it is not the soule by hym selfe that goeth

what dethe  
is.

To dye well.

the bodye, but it is the body by his  
forsakynge lyfe, that causethe the  
soule to departe. For where lyfe is  
not, there the soule canne not a-  
byde: and as the body is liuely be-  
foze the soule entereth, so the same  
body is deadly befoze the soule de-  
parteth. Bloudde in his measure  
and temperance betwene colde and  
hotte, kepeth lyfe in the body: the  
which bloud by innumerable waies  
of chances may be altered and con-  
strayned to leaue his nouryshynge  
wherupon shall insue the losse of  
lyfe, and than streighte after folo-  
weth the soules goinge away. For  
well you knowe, that the soule is  
one thyng, and lyfe is an other.

The soule.

The lyfe.

Whersomeuer the soule is, there  
is lyfe. But it is not trewe, that  
whersomeuer lyfe is, there is the  
soule. For trees and herbes haue a  
partie



parte of lyfe, and a moze parte of  
lyfe is in muskelles, opsters, and  
wormes: yet a moze perfect lyfe is  
in these bestes and birdes, the whi-  
che haue amongeste theym some  
moze some lesse of lyfes perfectnes.  
But thoughe in theym lyfe, the  
whiche resteth in the vie of the sen-  
sis, that be to here, to see, to fele, to  
smelle, to taste, and in swyfte mo-  
uyng is a great worke of lyfe, the  
which thynges I say, though they  
be in the perfection amongst these  
beastes: yet the hande of god hath  
not gyuen to any creature lyuyng  
in the erthe water or ayre, to haue  
besyde lyfe a soule: the whiche is a  
thyng formed after his lykenesse.  
sauyng onely to man, whome he  
hath putte here to rule ouer thyng-  
es created, lyke as he ruleth in  
heaven ouer all. It is the creature  
well,

To dye vvell.

wyll, that nothyng in this worlde  
shall haue a soule, but man alone :  
the which soule bringeth with him  
the vse of reason, a thyng that  
may teache vs bothe that we haue  
a soule, and that god is he the whi  
che hath thus made vs to be in  
this worlde his chiefe and moſte  
excellent creature. Reason dothe  
thus teache vs, yet besyde reason  
we be herein better instructed by  
our mayster the son of god, so that  
nowe we can not doubt, that in vs  
is a thyng, the whyche canne not  
dye. But of suretie we euidently  
se, not onely by reason, but moche  
better by belefe, that the ymage of  
god in vs is perpetuall and canne  
not feale anye corruption, oneles  
suche as our frowarde wyll maye  
growe, wherof groweth synne. that  
is the luyngge deathe of the soule.

But



But lette vs comme to our mat-  
tier.

**T**O speake of this bodyly dethe  
we nowe haue a greatte fozdell in  
comparison of some olde clerkes,  
that were in doubte, whither there  
was in man any soule besyde lyfe,  
more than is in an horse or a gose.  
They were in doubt whether any  
thyng of manne remayned after  
dethe, that myght fele or perceyue  
eyther ioy or payne. For as to the  
faynyng poetes, that spake of de-  
licious gardins for good spirites,  
and of dyuerse soze turmentes for  
vngacious sowles after this lyfe,  
most part of the olde clerkes, gaue  
no maner of credence: and they  
that beleued other an heuen or an  
hell, to be ordeyned for mens sow-  
les, yet they so beleued, that much  
doubtfulnes was in theyr beleue.

To dye vvell,

in asmoche as their reason suffised  
not to fynde oute the certeyntie of  
goddis woꝝkes. From the whiche  
doubtis the vnfallible doctrine of  
Chyste hath now delyuered vs al,  
so that as many as wyl gꝛue eare  
to the voyce of god, they can not  
mistruste their knowlege, but that  
without question bothe we haue a  
soule, and the same soule is im-  
mortal a thyng that neyther in  
this worlde noꝝ out of this worlde  
can perishe oꝝ feelee any poynte of  
deth, to lacke by the same any iote  
of his beinge. I saye oure sowles  
continually without ende shall e-  
uermore endure, the whiche be cre-  
ated and made by god after the  
forme of god. What foume that  
is, it is as harde to shew as it pas-  
seth our capacitie to knowe what  
god is, whose shappe and facion  
out



our soules beareth.

**N**owe than what shall we saye  
of death: the whiche by hym selfe  
is not vnlyke to an endles slepe of  
the bodye, wherof the bodye lyeth  
without power to vse anye sence,  
beyng after lyfe lyke to a stone,  
that neuer had lyfe. This change  
of the bodyes state, whether by hit  
selfe hit be good or yuelle, it is an  
harde thyng for vs to iuge, seinge  
the trowth is, that no man lyuinge  
expertlye knowethe what thyng  
death is: and to determyne of a  
thyng vnknewen, hit semethe a  
presumption full of folpe. Ther-  
fore without any certayne deter-  
mination, we maye for oure let-  
tinge debate with reson the thing,  
as moche as shalbe within the bon-  
des of our capacitye, and saye if  
death were by hym selfe good, it

whether  
death by it  
selfe be  
good or  
yuelle.

Death is  
not good

C.iii.

shuld

To dye vuell.

Shoulde be no trespase for one man  
to kyll hym selfe or an other. For  
in gpyng to other a good thyng  
or in takyng to our selfe a good  
thyng, can be no rebuke. Where  
the dede is good, there is well do-  
yng in the doer: But euer, not  
onely by Chyistes teachyng, but  
also by naturall resson manslaugh-  
ter hath be iuged an abhominable  
synne. Wherfore it canne not be  
that by hym selfe deathe is a good  
thyng. And ageyne an yuel thyng  
it is not. For Chyiste dyed wyl-  
lyngely, the whiche wyl in god  
and goddes sonne coulde not haue  
consented to dethe, if deathe hadde  
bene a thyng of his owne nature  
yuelle. For yet hit coulde not be,  
that vertue shoulde be praysed in  
the gladde sufferynge of deathe as  
nowe he crowned in heuen many  
holp

Deathe is  
not yuell.



holpe matters, the whiche coura-  
 gyouselpe toke vppon theym not  
 deathe. And surely it shoulde not  
 be the naturalle ende of mannes  
 course in this lyfe, if it were a thig,  
 by it selfe naught. For yuell ma-  
 gye mans hedde, is neuer put to  
 him, as it shoulde be yf deathe were  
 yuell: the whiche necessaryly man  
 is constrainned to suffer. Therfore  
 it semeth true, that deathe conside-  
 red alone by hit selfe, is nother  
 good nor yuell. But when we here  
 of dyinge well or dying yuell, or of  
 a good deathe or an yuell death: it  
 is not deathe by it selfe that is spo-  
 ken of, but rather the circumstan-  
 ces, the maner, the fashyon, the  
 cause of deathe, or that goeth be-  
 fore death, or that foloweth death.  
 These be the thynges that giveth  
 and taketh this name of goodnes

Deathe is  
 nother  
 good nor  
 yuell.

To dye vuell.

oꝛ puelnes, As to saie that death  
is good, bycause hit endethe this  
symefull lyfe, and is the meane to  
passe frome this worlde to heuen :  
oꝛ els when we saie, that Judas  
dyled an puel deathe, it is not ment  
that the departing of Judas soule  
from the bodye was puell, but the  
inaner of his dypenge, was the puel  
thynge, his cursed desperation, his  
dampnable mystruste of goddes  
mercye, his dispitefull refusynge  
grace, made his deathe puell. The  
two theues, he at the ryght hande,  
and he at the lefte, bothe dyled one  
kynde of deathe, bothe nayled to  
crosse, both worthy foꝛ their tres-  
paces : yet it is trouthe, that the  
one died wel in a good deth, the o-  
ther dyled naught in an puel deathe.  
not foꝛ the deathe by it selfe, wherein  
was no difference, but foꝛ the di-  
uersitie



uersitie of their. ii. myndes in ta-  
kyng of deathe. The one repen-  
ted hym, and asked mercy, wherof  
he died graciously, the tother con-  
tynued in his blasphemynge god,  
the whiche stubburne stomacke in  
synne caused hym to dye vngra-  
ciouly. It is a thyng that folo-  
weth deathe, and is not in deathe it  
selfe, wherupon we loke, when we  
iuge to be a good ende or an yuell.  
For by the maner of hym that dy-  
eth, we coniecture the state and co-  
dition of the soule: the whiche yf  
we fynd in our fantasie to be in an  
yuelle case, as in the daunger of  
goddes curse, we call deathe yuell,  
wherby the soule passed to come to  
suche sorowe. And contrarpe, yf  
we thynke the soule to be in the fa-  
uour of god, or to be redde to take  
mercy we call death good, the whiche

To dye vuell.

che conueyde the soule to his blys.  
So that by it selfe Deathe remay-  
neth indifferent to be iudged of di-  
uers considerations, other a good  
ende or an yuel ende.

To feare  
death.

**T**Howe than we may here say, he  
that feareth Deathe, sheweth hym  
selfe to be in doubte of his soules  
state, or els to be certayne that his  
soule is in goddis curse. The whi-  
che ferefull mynde is in them that  
haue so passed this p̄sente lyfe,  
that eyther they haue doone no-  
thyng, wherby they may hope to  
be rewarded in heuen: or els they  
haue done so vngrationously, that  
they can haue no trust of escapinge  
damnable punyshement. Specially  
yf he be a chystened man. For if  
he be not chystened, and feareth to  
dye, he declareth hym selfe to haue  
none hygher thought of lyfe, than  
the



the diuinbe beastes haue, the whyche make by the lawe of nature so moche of their lpfes, that they can mynde nothyng belyde, and the losse of their bloode maketh with them an hoole conclusion of theyr being. Wherfoze beastes maye iustly flye and feare deathe, as the worste thyng that can happen to their state: but a man dothe hym selfe to moche wronge, if he thynke hym selfe in no better condityon than be these beastes. It is not in the dyuels power to do manne so great hurte as this falle imagination doeth. And surely vnworthy he is to haue in hym the power of vnderstandynge, of thynkyng, of prouydynge, of lernynge, of teachynge, of diuysynge, of reuendynge, of louynge, of hatynge, of resoundynge, of counsailynge, of infinite mooghtes

To dye vvell.

gyftes, who someuer tugeth hym  
selfe to haue no moze than a swyne  
oz an ape hath: Loke as by the fiue  
wittes the bodye knoweth this oz  
that: so by these powers of mynde,  
the soule walketh to his vnderstan  
dyng, and of an heuenly mattier  
is made this marueplous thyng,  
that dwelleth in mans bodye fo2 a  
tyme, to be made worthe other of  
euerlastyng lyfe, oz of euerlastyng  
death, fo2 the damned soule lyueth  
in deth without ende.

Death is  
not to be  
feared.

¶ But yet what shall we saye to  
the place we left befoze, that natu-  
rally death is feared. Let it be the  
workyng of nature, yet I see not  
but the strength of mannes mynde  
fully fastened in fayth, may victo-  
riously ouer come all this feare,  
as we fynde manye ensamples of  
men that so haue done, not onely  
of



of theym that haue benne helped  
with fayth, but also of many pay-  
nymes, the whiche toke a courage  
to dispise deathe, onely of a mighty  
and valiant mynde to haue reason  
subdewe in them the power of all  
affectes.

**I**f fynde, a lernede paynyme  
wrote that we shoulde nother care  
foz lyfe by it selfe, noz yet foz death  
by it selfe. He sayth that we shulde  
care to lyue well and to dye well,  
and let lyfe and deathe passe with-  
out care. Foz lyfe is not good, but  
to lyue well is good.

**I**f paynymes haue this ryghte  
consideration of lyfe and of death,  
what shame is hit foz Chyristened  
men to care foz death: seing Christ  
whose wordes can not but be true,  
so vehemently fozbyddeth us the  
same, that paynymes saue by rea-  
son

To dye well.

For to be done. Agayne, seying this  
death is so common a thyng day-  
ly in our syghte, why shoulde we  
feare it. Thynges that seldom  
chance may stirre vp by their rare-  
nes greate feare: thynges that be  
euer at hande shoulde by theyr fa-  
myliartye and custome nousel vs  
to sette lyttell by them. Farther-  
moze he that feareth dethe coming  
to hym, wolde feare by lykelyhode  
deathe, if hit coulde be with hym,  
when deathe is suche a thyng,  
that other it is not yet come, or els  
it is paste. For no man canne saye,  
that deathe is presente. Soo this  
feare can neuer be toynd with the  
thyng that is feared. Agayne that  
thyng that euerye man maye doo,  
no man lightly doeth, that thyng  
that no man canne helpe hym selfe  
in, that for the mooste parte all men  
do.



do. No man almooste studyeth oz  
careth howe well he may lyue, but  
how longe he may lyue euery man  
museth. when the trouthe is, that it  
myghte of all men be optayned to  
lyue well, and no man can further  
hym selfe to lye longe. A lyke fro-  
wardenes is in our remembraunce  
of deathe, we busilpe labour and  
enforce to dreame of deathe, the  
whiche thyng we can not do: we  
myghte fynde the waye to dye wel,  
and this thyng we wyll dot doo.  
This madnes Iohn I truste, you  
wyll put of, and feare not deathe,  
the whiche you canne not escape:  
But feare an yuell death, the whi-  
che you may flye.

**A**monge manye commodyties  
of deathe I reken one chesely to be  
sette by, that it is good to dye wel,  
to escape therby thoccasion of ly-  
uynge

To dye well.

upnge yuell, and surelye he dyethe well, that for suche an intente taketh death gladly.

**M**oze ouer consyder you well, and you shall see, that in hym the whiche is curious to lyue, fortune hath a great rule, but in hym that can dye gladdely, fortune hath no power. And what a wretchednes it is to be vnder fortunes vanitie, I repute me to them, whome we beholde dayly diuersely vered as well with immoderate lustes of to moche welthe, as with passynge sorowes of to moche trouble.

Therfore to be oute of fortunes thraldome sette lyttell by this lyfe, that is to say, feare not deathe.

**I**t pleased me to rede a paynyms opinion, that sayde. He is as foolyshe that feareth death, as he that feareth to be olde. For as af-

ter



To dye vuell.

25

ter yōge age foloweth the old: so after old age streight foloweth deth. And a madde mans poynte it is to feare dethe, seynge thynge vncertaine, the whiche maye chance and may not chance, be onely worthe of feare, but thynge certayne without doubtte commynge, muste be loked for, not feared. The necessitie of deathes commynge is equall and without remedy, so that other to complayne, or to flye at deathe hit is a playne madness. For who can complayne to be in the condition, in the whiche indifferently all men of this worde be?

¶ And agayne yf the payne of disenge were a thynge to make death fearefull, fyrste it shulde be a comforte to remembre, that after the payne of deathe, there shall be no more payne, and as Epicure sayth,

D

36

To dye vvell.

If it be an extreme sooze peyne, it is shorte. For no vehement peyne can be longe. This were inoughe to make death not moche to be cared for. Euery way deth is a thing neuer to be feared of a wyse man, and neuer to be out of mynd bothe with good men and wise men.

And as for the feare of death were not he (I pray you) a starke foole, that wold wepe and waile bycause he was not boyn to this lyfe a thousande yerres agoo: no lesse a foole is he who so euer sorowith bycause he can not lyue a thousande yerres to come. For these. ii. sayinges be euen and equally true: you were not, you shall not be. So that one mynde shulde be in vs, as well to remembre we shall not be, as to remembre we ones were not. It is no newe thyng to dye, our fathers  
out



our grandfathers, our greatte fore-  
fathers be gone the way that both we  
shal go, and al that folow vs must  
come the same.

**W**hoze ouer in as moche no la-  
bour, wyt, craft, noz diligence pre-  
uaileth to escape deathe, no power,  
no ryches, no auctozitie helpeth,  
but all indifferently be called of  
Deathe, all without choyle must fo-  
lowe the trayne of Deathe, no cor-  
ner can hyde vs, no walies can de-  
fende vs, no waye noz meane, no  
intreatie, no prayer, no suite, no-  
thyng under heuen can kepe vs  
from deathes hande. Lette vs than  
take a lusty courage of this despe-  
ration, seinge there is no remedy:  
lette vs manfully go to it.

The most ferefull and cowardly be-  
astes, that of nature be made to fly,  
when they be dzyuen in to such

To dye vuell.

Necessitie.

straytes, that they can rounne no further, they turne them, and with the power of theyr myght they inforce to escape. And surely it is euer sene, that those ennemyes be euer moste terrible, the whiche be dyuen by extreme force to fyghte. For necessitie correcteth and chastiseth our hartes moche moze sharply, than vertue can do. Wherof a desperate mynde shall do greater actes, or at the leest no lesse than a valiant stomake can doo. In this necessitie of dethe we nowe be all, it is vayne for vs to flye or to run away, our feare can fynd no place of flyght. Lette vs imagine the trouthe as in dede it is, that we be all betrayed to dye. It is so John, that without doubt we be all kept in a streyte corner to be tydde of this lyfe. There is no hope of remedy.



medye. All this people that you se,  
howe longe thynke you shall be.  
It shall not be longe, but all shall  
by the course of Nature be called  
hens to dethe, and there hydde. It  
maketh no force neither of the day  
noꝝ of the place. There nedeth no  
question to be asked eyther where  
oꝝ whan, all must come to one end,  
other soner oꝝ later, other befoꝝe oꝝ  
after. What nowe John? Dothe  
not he seme vnto you a shamefull  
cowarde, and a fearefull wꝛetche,  
a playn kikkes without an harte,  
that with moche intercession, with  
many prayers despyreth a lyttelle  
delaye of dethe? If you sawe  
one stande in the numbꝛe of many  
that shoulde be hedded, makynge  
most instant suit to the hangman,  
that he might be y<sup>e</sup> last that shoulde  
put his head to the blocke, wolde

To dye vvell.

you not say, fye vppon such a wretched knaue, that so moche feareth death, beyng nowe at the poynte to dye, whether he wylle or no: and yet this maner nowe is with vs all. For the mooste parte it is greattely valured with vs to dye somewhat behynde other, none is so nygh death by age, that desireth not to differre from this daye vntyll to morowe, when in trouthe suche a weake mynde is in effecte dead and buryed longe before the bodye fayleth. Liffe vp therfore your harte onely bycause there is no remedy, desyre not to fflye when there is no place to runne to, lette necessitie gyue you a courage, if all other strength decayeth. What a stomake was in the sayde Canius of the which sorte the stories make mention to haue bene many amongest



gest the paynymes.

**T**A tyrante fierse selfe thzetened Theodoze the philosopher, that he shoulde dye, and that his bodye shoulde lye to crows vnburied: wourshypfully sayde, aunswered this Theodoze to the tyrante: Thou mayste be proude of thy power. By cause one ounce oꝝ two of bloudde is in thy handes. And as foꝝ the buryalle of my bodye. Whowe folyshe thou arte, if thou taken it to be any dyfference, whether I rotte vnder oꝝ aboue the grounde.

**O**f suche coragious aunsweres the stoꝝes of paynymes be fulle. But moche moze the bookes of Chyistened men be fulle of suche ensamples.

**C**hristes saythe made immeasurable stronge champions, inuincible

To dye vvell.

cible stomackes, not onelye towarde deathe but ageynste all the cruel deuises that could be founde to make deathe more peynefulle than deathe. The holye martyrs were so farre from all poyntes of feare, that they semed to enforce and to stryue to haue deathe gyuen them. Theyr myghte was to suffer the horrible persecution of tyrantes. No reason nor lernyng coulde worke suche strengthnes of hartes in mens myndes, as the saythe of Chyste brought.

Take howe sayncte Paul reioyseth in his troubles, howe he gloryeth in his scourgynges, whyp-pynges, in his prisonment, in his fetters, all his lyfe semed to be a contynuall deathe, yet his harte neuer gaue ouer, but vered by the gyues dayly stronger & stronger.

to



to suffer a freshe . Feare of death  
was soo farre frome his mynde,  
that he was gladde to remembre  
howe ones he shoulde dye, and  
thereby passe to Chyestes p[re]sence  
whose quarell he defended in this  
worlde with all his myghte and  
power.

**L**oke vpon saynt Laurence, ly-  
inge b[ro]yllynge vpon the burnynge  
cooles, as merve and as quiet as  
though he lay vpon swete reed ro-  
ses: When the turlmentours tour-  
ned his body vpon the fiery gredy-  
ernes, he bad the cruel tirant eate  
of his burned syde, whyles the to-  
ther parte was a rostynge. This  
saying declared that this holy mar-  
tyr feared no death.

**H**owe manye thou sande mar-  
tyrs suffered incredyble peynes of  
flaynge with hookes they were

To dye vvell.

from the flesh, of scrappnge with  
tyle stones the flesh from the bo-  
nes, of rentynge and tearynge  
membze from mēbze with hoxses,  
with bowed bzanches of trees, of  
beatynge with whippes tyll the  
bowelles fall out, of hangynge, of  
burnynge, of Crucyfynge, of in-  
fynite straunge and newe deuyces  
foz peyne? Howe manye I saye,  
suffred all that cruelle tyzantes  
coude imagyn cyther with hande,  
sper, oz ironne, rather than they  
wolde ons deny them selfe to be of  
Chyistes pofession? Whan it was  
pzoclaimed, that who so euer wold  
saye he was Chyistened, he shulde  
cruelly be put to dethe. There pas-  
sed no daye, without a great nūbze  
of them that boldly spoke the woꝝ-  
des, of the whiche shoulde folowe  
so bloudde a slaughte. This  
was



To dye vvell.

30

was a manifesst token, that feare  
of Deathe hadde no maner of place  
with our blessed martiers, the whi-  
che with a constante boldnes defi-  
ed and dispised the myghty, cruell,  
and fierse emperours, they? cou-  
rage to dye ouerthrew the ragyng  
madnes of tyrantes. The cause  
of this my?the in so pitious mar-  
ty?domes was, that this blessed  
men knewe, howe Chyste nother  
could no? wolde deceyue them, but  
¶ for they? lpttel regardyng of this  
lyfe, they shoulde opteyne an other  
lyfe, where their ioye shulde neuer  
haue nother change, no? decrease,  
no? ende. Therfore my good Wal-  
ker, mystruste you not Chyste,  
whose doctryne the heuen and the  
erthe hath by innumerable myra-  
cles, this many hundzeth yeres ap-  
prooued and confyrmed to be true

To dye vvell,

the bloud of so many sayntes haue  
witnessed the same: and the diuels  
with all the damned spirites, soo  
surely beleue the trouthe of Chri-  
stes teachynge, that they tymbler  
and quake there at. Be not moued  
with the common ensample of the  
hole worlde, though bothe spiritu-  
all and tempoꝛall men, though the  
pope with all his cardinales by-  
shoppes and prestes, though the  
princes with all theyꝝ gentylmen  
and subiectes magnifye, esteeme,  
loue, noꝛshe, and by all meanes  
cherishe this lyfe, yet beleue you  
the trouthe, and thinke al the worlde  
false, where Chistes saying agre-  
eth not with that the worlde doeth.  
If it were possible, that you sawe  
the angels of heuen lyue contrary  
to the preachynge of Chiste, yet  
knowe they all beleue the soune  
of



To dye well.

31

of god, and loue not to abyde in  
this lyfe. when Chyste calleth you  
hense, make a smale valure of this  
present plesures, whā Chyist sayth  
al be vanities, and may be tozned to  
endles sorowes: Regarde no ho-  
nour, no promotion here, when  
Chyste saythe, the place of honour  
is in heuen, and here is none ad-  
uācement, that is not both shame,  
and also may be cause of a perpe-  
tuelle wretchednes. Dispyce the  
ease and rest that these riches bryn-  
geth, in as moche Chyste saythe,  
that of them be taken manye im-  
pedymentes and lettes to entre  
in to the sure quietnes of blessed  
soules. Thynke no place to be for  
your abydyng in this world, when  
Chyste sayth, here is not your resi-  
dency, but your father and your  
dwelling place is in heuen.

There

To dye well.

therfore hence. This is to saye be  
wyllynge to forsake this straunge  
contrary. And scinge the waye to  
your homewarde lyeth by deathe,  
take a couragious stomake to dye,  
and dye gladly, that you may dye  
well. Beleue I saye Chyste, & you  
shall thynke it peynfull to be in  
this lyfe. Beleue Chyste and you  
shall be gredye to be partaker of  
the heuenly ioyes, wherupon wyl  
folowe a pleasante remembraunce  
of deathe, by the whiche you shall  
departe froine your peyne to that  
ioye, the whiche you desyre. And  
hereof is made a glad dyinge, the  
whiche I styll name a good dieng.  
Thus if we canne take this feare  
awaye, we be well forwarde, and  
hereof wyl easly insue the reste,  
that is to dye gladlye. It is a true  
sayinge, that who so euer feareth  
deth,



To dye well.

32

Death, he shall neuer do a dede woꝝ  
thy foꝝ a lyuyng man. Therfoꝛe if  
hit were but onely foꝝ lyfes sake  
it is our parte to dispise the feare  
of deathe.

**B**espyde this feare of deathe, the  
loue (I say) of this lyfe sooꝛe hyn- *Loue of  
this lyfe:*  
dereth the gladnes of dyng, no  
man dyeth gladly, that este meth  
moche this lyfe. He that rekeneth  
in this worlde hym selfe happye,  
when he hath gotten ryches, pos-  
sessions, auctozitie, promotion, a  
ryall state, a princelyke courte, a-  
bundaunce of welthye face, a rule  
and power bothe to auaunce his  
frende, and to vndo his foo: this  
man I say that glozieth in his fan-  
tasye foꝝ these and such other thyn-  
ges, can not but with moch sorow  
depart hence. To this mā's harte  
remembraunce of deth is a euer gre-

uous

To dye well.

uous thoughte, his mynde canne not but lament whan he seeth the necessitie to be pluckid and drawen frome these commodyties, in the whiche resteth the ioye, pleasure and gladnes of his mynde, he hath so stedfastly accustomed hym selfe to take this worlde for heuen, that it wyll not synke in his bryne, to hope of an other heuen: he hath so corrupted his taste with thinkyng this lyfe to be swete, that nedes it must be a bytter thyng to make an ende of all his pleasures, and in this case be not onely they that haue this worlde at their wyll, but also they be in the same case that haue naught, and be gredy of havyng. As moche loueth he this worlde that wolde fayne be ryche, as he that is ryche. It is not the wantynge no? the lackyng of aduancement

dauance



daunce in goodes, that maketh a sorrowfull hart in the remembraunce of dethe, but it is the mynd that valureth and pondzeth these present goodes to be of a great price, and worthy to be taried for. This mind I saye as wel in a cōmuner, as in a kyng, as well in a yoman as in a lord, as wel in an hermite, monke, or frier, as in a marchant plowmā or vacabunde, as well in beggers, as in ryche men, is the thyng that causeth sorrow in dying. And gladly no manne dyeth, that loueth the welthe of this lyfe. Wherfore the lernyng to die wel requireth necessary a lesson, howe moche the goodes of this worlde be worthy to be regarded. And lette the truthe haue in your stomacke his place, so that if it be tru, that the thinges of this life be worthy to be loued and to be

To dye vvell.

cared for: than loue you them and  
care for them. If the truth be other  
wise, change your mynd, & nother  
loue these saide thynges, nor care  
for them. Of the truth in this mat-  
ter no man can dout, that beleueth  
Christe, whom if you thynke to be  
god, you muste also thinke it all  
trouth that he saith. It can not be  
other wyse then Christe testifieth,  
whose preching euer exhorteth vs  
to wylful pouertie, the which is no  
ther to loue þe godis of this world  
though we haue the, nor to care for  
them, though we haue them not:  
only by Christis teching we shuld  
care for the kingdom of heuen, the  
whiche standeth in the clenness of  
conscience, where euer is a place  
& a seete for the hie maiestie of the  
holy trinitie. All other thinges ne-  
cessary for this lyfe be not to be ca-  
red



red for, nor yet to be valued more  
then their dignities requirith: that  
is to say, no more than is convenient  
for instrumentes & toles to þe pilgri-  
mage & passage of this strange coun-  
trei. For in this world we haue no  
home, our father dwelleth not in  
this region we be in this life out of  
our propre countrei, we shulde hast  
home ward to the ioyful presence of  
our owne father, þe abydethe vs in  
heuen, the whiche hath a greater  
charge ouer vs his chyliden here,  
than he hath ouer the beastes or  
byrdes, the whiche by his only pro-  
uision without their care, lacketh  
nothinge for their necessitie. Mo-  
che more (sayth our maister Christ)  
if we tourned all our care to god-  
warde, we shulde not be destitute  
of such thinges as necessarily this  
present lyfe nedeth. And where

C.ii.

Christe

To dye vvell.

Chyſte ſoo ſtreptly commaundeth  
almes dedes, ſayinge, that who ſo  
euer helpeth not a poze man in his  
nede, he wyll not helpe him noꝝ yet  
knowe hym at the fearefull day of  
dome, in ſo moche that it pleaſeth  
Chyiſt to ſaye, that euery poze man  
repreſenteth the perſon of goddes  
ſon, ſo that he that regardeth not a  
poze man, deſpiſeth the ſon of god.  
In this doctryne what thynke  
you? Whether dothe Chyiſte com=  
maunde almes dedes foꝝ the  
pooze mans ſake, that ſhulde take  
almes, oꝝ foꝝ the ryche mans ſake,  
that ſhoulde gyue almes? In ta=  
kyng almes I fynde no vertue  
and nedes it is a thynge partep=  
nyng to vertue, that Chyiſt wolde  
haue done. Therfoze ſurelpe it is  
foꝝ the ryche mans ſake. Foꝝ it is  
Chyiſtes leſſon, that teacheth vs to  
haue



haue no inwarde loue to these casual goodes, the whiche we must put from vs, where we see theym that wante suche thynges. And a pꝛofe of a perfecte stomake is taken in hym, that vtterly leauyth and forsakethe all this woꝛlde to folowe Christe : the whiche byddeth the ryche man, that wyl be perfecte, to go & sell all that he hath, & deale all to pooꝛe men. Foꝛ as harde a thyng it is to plucke thꝛough the smale nedles eie a greatte caboull rope, as to bynge a ryche man in at heuens wycket : not that it is impossible foꝛ a riche man to be saued, but bycause it is harde foꝛ a man in a welthye state to kepe his mynde in a due oꝛder to godward, without beyng dꝛowned oꝛ infected by the contagious lustes and corrupted plesures, the which folo-

To dye vvell.

wethe the fortunate lyfe of this  
worlde. And nothynge is moze  
in a rich man to be feared, than lest  
he sette his mynde to loue his ry-  
ches, the whiche loue can neuer  
stande with the pleasure of god.

Remembze the sayenge of the apo-  
stelle sayncte Paule: The loue of  
ryches is the rote of all syn. Ther-  
foze let not this loue grow in your  
harte, from whense shulde springe  
the frute of damnatiō. Here of my  
frende walker, I trust you se, that  
without question it is chrystes wil  
to haue vs lyttel regarde this life,  
and moche lesse to regarde all the  
commodities apperteyning to this  
lyfe. It is god that sayth, The lo-  
sing of lyfe in this worlde, is the  
findyng of life in a nother worlde:  
and that wepyng, sorowe, payne,  
tribulation, pouertye, shame, per-  
secution



secution, and fynally death in this lyfe, is laughinge, ioye, pleasure, ease, ryches, honoure, quyetnes, and fynallye lyfe, in the kyngedome of god.

Contrarye the same maister testifyethe, that myrthe, welthe, reste, gloze, abundance, strengthe, libertie, rule, & fynally lyfe in this worlde, is lamentyng, grefe, trouble, flaunder, myserie, wekenes, thraldome, bondage, and fynally deathe in goddes reygne. In this tenor and key sheweth al our holy scripture. Wherfore my thynke it is inough to proue to a Chystryened man, that the welthye state of this worlde is bayne and ieoperdous, by cause Chyriste so teacheth and preacheth, and surely a greater profe by reason for this matter with you I wyll not vse at this

To dye vvell.

tyme. Let Chyſte be beleued, that  
beddeth you gether a treaſure in he  
uen, where your ryches ſhall be  
ſure from mothes, wormes, and  
ruſtyng, from theues, fyre, and  
water. If your treaſure be ones  
couched in heuen, ſtreighte your  
harte ſhall alſo be there: and ſoo  
ſhall you take no pleaſure of tary  
nge in this lyfe, but rather it ſhal  
be werines and tediousnes to you  
to be here abſente from your har  
tes deſyre, the whiche alwaye ſtyc  
keth and cleueth to your treaſure  
in heuen, If hit ſoo be that after  
Chyiſtes conſayle you haue there  
put al your goodes and ſubſtance.  
If nother we feare death nor loue  
this lyfe. I thynke the cheſe impe  
dimentes & lettis of our purpoſe to  
dye well, be taken away, & now we  
may a litel diuiſe, what thyng may  
helpe



helpe vs in our iourney after these  
stones and blockes be gone.

**I**n my mynde nothyng shall  
further vs moze to a gladde death,  
than shall an ordinate lyfe, that is  
to liue in a iust & a due maner after  
one rule & one forme, euer awake  
in a quicke remembrance of death, as  
though euery houre were our laste  
space of induraunce in this world.  
When you rise in the morning, de-  
termine so to passe y<sup>e</sup> day folowing  
as though at nyght a graue shuld  
be your bed. Let euery daye be rec-  
kened with you as your last. This  
mynde shall make you bestowe well  
your lyfe, the whiche is to you vn-  
certeyne, howe longe it shall con-  
synue: ye rather in doubte you be,  
how sone or how shortly life shalbe  
taken from you. What so euer you  
take in hande bethinke you, that

what fur-  
dresth most  
glad deys

To dye vven.

before you end it, Deathe maye oppress you workynge. This is the thyng that Christ wolde haue vs do, when he so often warneth and admonisheth vs to take hee de and to loke aboute vs, bycause nother the daye nor the houre of our callinge is certayne to vs. Therefore it is our parte, of a tyme so moche vncertaine to make a time sure, certayne, and presente, that we neuer be taken vnwares: by the which meanes we shall gladly suffre deeth sayng it is a thyng so longe before prepared. For whye shulde it be a strange thyng to reken euery day to be the laste? I see not but that thyng, that happeneth and changeth to some of vs, myght come to any of vs, and lyke wise all might haue that that a fewe hath. There is no cause to deny, but as well this  
daye



Day you or I myght dye, as we see  
this day some other deed: & though  
we be not deed this daye, yet it is  
trowthe that this day we dye, and  
dailye sithen our fyrste byrthe we  
haue died, in as moche that daylye  
some parte of our life, hath ben di-  
minished, & euer as we haue gro-  
wen, so euer life hath decreased. We  
were babys, we were chyldeern, we  
were boyes, we were yonge men,  
all these ages be losse, and tylle ye-  
sterday all tyme paste is gone and  
lost. This same selfe daye that we  
nowe lyue, is deuoyded and parted  
with death. Styll without ceas-  
sing we appoche to death by ther-  
pence & wast of lyfe. Thus dyinge  
we alway be, though death be not  
alway vppon vs. Conceyue than  
this ordinate lyfe in poure mynde,  
& bestowe your tyme whyle you  
haue

To dye well.

haue the tyme . Aboue all thynges  
fly idelnes, the whiche is a thyng  
bothe to the bodye and to the soule,  
lyke a kankerynge rustines, and  
as an eatynge consumption, hit  
wasteth to naughte bothe vertue  
and strength. A manne the whiche  
is in the lyfe that you be, may sone  
be corrupted with this contagion  
of idelnes, if he be not well ware,  
& diligētely enforce him selfe to the  
contrary. For Ife you haue a mai-  
ster so affectionate & giuen to you,  
¶ he wylle nother suffer you lacke  
any thyng mete for your helthe or  
quietnes, but also he had rather  
forbeare his owne commodities,  
than for his seruyce you shulde be  
disquietted : So tender he is in all  
payntes ouer you, that if you pon-  
der well his state and youre owne  
condition, you shall finde your life  
bet-



better defended from all stormes  
agaynst the myndes rest, than your  
maisters condition is. He is in su-  
che a syghte of the worlde, that ne-  
cessarily his studie and care muste  
moue hym to satisfie the greatte  
expectation, that his hole countrey  
hath of his towardenes. And for-  
tune on the tother syde, is so con-  
trary to hym, that nedes he muste  
by wisdom procure, with no smale  
thought, howe he may in penury  
mayntayne the outwarde face of  
his reputation: soo that for your  
quietnes his mynde often labou-  
reth, where you may do what you  
wyl without feare of the worldes  
displeasure, without feare of lac-  
kyng or not haupnge inoughe for  
your necessaryes, and moche more  
than necessitie requirerh. Labour  
have you none, but that maye be

To dye vvell.

rather takē for a pastime, thought  
to please your maister you nede not  
take, in as moch you may be assu-  
red, that he can not nor wil not for  
the time of his lyfe chaunge his af-  
fectiō toward you. Therfore I say  
it may be feared in one of your state  
lest idelnes shuld breede a foule flo-  
uens neste, the which were inough  
to distrope all lustines of vertue, &  
to make you longe deed and buri-  
ed in this worlde, before lyfe forsa-  
keth you. For my good I hoñ, I  
wyl haue you knowe and remem-  
bre, that idelnes is called the graue  
of lypynge men: it is the thynge,  
wherin life dyeth, and therby your  
soule is twyse buryed in yowe,  
ones in your bodye, nexte in youre  
clothe. The whiche vyce in ser-  
uynge men moste reyneth, and the  
same is roote of manye vnchastyte  
thoughtes



thoughtes, wherupon folowethe  
a worse idelnes than the tother is.  
For it is an euill ydelnes to do no  
thyng, but a worse ydelnes hit is  
to do not well. Suche an ydell fe-  
lowe saynct Chrysostomus calleth  
a dissolatynge, or a voydebaitynge  
place, wherinto the dyuell entreth,  
as in to his owne howse by goodde  
right. For where vertu is not exer-  
cised, there the enemy of grace clay-  
mith his rule, it is not now my pur-  
pose to shewe what you shuld do, &  
you might not only fly idelnes, but  
also be well occupped. This were  
a mattier inoughe for a nother  
worke. I haue my intente at this  
tyme, if you se that death is not to  
be feared, and that by contynuall  
remembraunce of death, you shall  
prepayre your selfe to dye gladly  
with a good wyll: the whiche you

To dye vvell.

can not do, onles you be in hope of the euerlastyng lyfe, & this hope requireth some trust in the cleneg of a good conscience, the whiche euer foloweth a gracious intēt of lyuig wel. So þ̄ if you liue well, you shal dye wel. And of the way to liue wel you cā not misse, if you arme your mynde to be strong agaynst al suddenness of deth. Pray euer continually without cessing you must: but what is this contynuall prayer I wolde you lerned. For of prayer it is but one synal portion, the sayinge of psalmes or aring with wordes of god his grace, the very prayer is to be euer well mynded, to be euer in charitie, to haue euer the honour of god in remembraunce to suffer no rancoze, none pte, no wyathe, no malice, no syn to abyde in your delyte, but to be in a continuall



nual good thought, the which you  
maye kepe whether you slepe or  
wake, whether you eate or drynke,  
whether you feaste or fast, whether  
you rest or labour, & neuer parauē  
ture you can pray better, than whā  
you muste gyue your selfe to serue  
your mayster, to whom y<sup>e</sup> course of  
your life is due & boundē specially  
when god hath giuen you suche a  
maister, whom your seruice cā not  
please without you be studypous to  
please god. For well you see, y<sup>e</sup> with  
out vertue your seruyce were to  
your mayster an vnsauery thyng  
but (as I haue sayd) it is not now  
my purpose to apoynt you the way  
of lpyngē wel: if you haue harde  
inoughe to dye wel, I haue for my  
parte nowe sayde inough, & Wote-  
lye by the same you shall of your  
selfe without farther helpe fynde

the

To dye well.

the waye to lyue well. Nowe that  
by this I thynke my promysse  
fulfilled, I will at this poynt bid  
you farewell. and I pray god giue  
you a stronge corage to passe valy-  
antly through death, to come from  
thence to euerlastyng life, by the  
helpe and grace of our mayster  
and sauour Chyste, to  
whome lette vs for  
euer more ren-  
der al gloꝝy  
praysse, and honour. Amen  
At Paris the .x.  
day of Ja-  
nuarye.

Londini ex edibus Thomæ Bertheleti regii  
impressoris. Cum priuilegio ad  
imprimendum solum  
ANNO. M.D. XLI



also that

of 3rd